

Message Text

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SUBJECT: ANALYTICAL WRAP-UP ON WEEK'S FRENCH MEDIA

COMMENTARY ON U.S. CYPRUS ROLE

REF: A. PARIS 19616

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SUMMARY: SINCE AUGUST 15 THE FRENCH MEDIA HAVE LACED THEIR CYPRUS COVERAGE WITH HEARTY DOSES OF CRITICISM, SOME OF IT RATHER FANCIFUL, OF WHAT THEY PERCEIVE AS HAVING BEEN THE U.S. DIPLOMATIC ROLE. THIS HAS INCLUDED A GOOD DEAL OF PERSONAL CRITICISM OF THE SECRETARY. EMBASSY ATTRIBUTES THIS TO DEPENDENCE OF FRENCH JOURNALISM ON SENSATIONAL THEORIES TO MAKE A GOOD COPY AND TO JEALOUSY BECAUSE OF SECRETARY'S PAST ACCOMPLISHMENTS. NO EVIDENCE OF GOF ENCOURAGEMENT TO SUCH REPORTING. END OF SUMMARY.

1. PROBABLY THE SEMINAL STORY CRITICIZING U.S. ROLE IN THE CYPRUS AFFAIR WAS A PAGE ONE PIECE IN
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LE MONDE AUGUST 15 BY ERIC ROULEAU, PAPER'S MIDDLE

EAST EXPERT. THIS STORY (REPORTED REF A AND AUGUST 16 DAILY MEDIA. ANALYSIS) WAS ATTRIBUTED IN PART TO JOHN ZIGDIS, A GREEK POLITICIAN WHO ACCUSED SECRETARY KISSINGER OF COLLUSION IN THE OVERTHROW OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS. ROULEAU'S STORY EXPANDED GREATLY ON THIS THEME AND IN MANY WAYS LEFT THE READER WITH THE IMPRESSION THAT THESE CHARGES WERE A SIMPLE MATTER OF FACT. SUBSEQUENTLY (AS REPORTED AUG 16 DAILY MEDIA ANALYSIS) THESE CHARGES WERE CARRIED WITHOUT PRECISE ATTRIBUTION BY ORTF AND VARIOUS OTHER FRENCH MEDIA.

2. OVERALL CRITICISM OF THE U.S. HAS FALLEN INTO THREE CATEGORIES:(A) THAT OUR HANDLING OF THE CRISIS WAS INEPT; (B) THAT IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER-- DEPENDING UPON WHO WAS MAKING THE CHARGE--OUR HANDLING WAS NAIVE OR CYNICAL, AND (C) THE CHARGE NOTED ABOVE THAT WE ACTUALLY ENGINEERED MAKARIOS' OUSTER.

3. SOME OF THESE WRITERS HAVE BEEN CONSISTENT CRITICS OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY; OTHERS HAVE BEEN TRADITIONALLY MORE SYMPATHETIC, AND DEGREE OF CRITICISM HAS VARIED ACCORDINGLY. MAURICE DUVERGER'S ATTACK IN AUGUST 21 LE MONDE (REPORTED AUG 21 DAILY ANALYSIS) ON THE SECRETARY AND THE U.S. GENERALLY COMES AS NO SURPRISE. DUVERGER BEATS THIS KIND OF DRUM AT EVERY OPPORTUNITY, MOST RECENTLY ON THE EVE OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT HERE IN JUNE (REFTEL B) FOLLOWING THE MOSCOW SUMMIT.

4. ALTHOUGH PRESS COMMENTARY HAS BEEN MAINLY UNFAVORABLE TO US, IT HAS NOT BEEN ENTIRELY SO, AS OUR REPORTING HAS SHOWN. IN AUGUST 19 DAILY ANALYSIS, FOR EXAMPLE, WE REPORTED A STORY BY LE MONDE'S WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT, HENRI PIERRE, WHICH SAID AMONG OTHER THINGS THAT "IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRISIS IN THE PRESENT STAGE DO NOT APPEAR AS UNFAVORABLE AS ASSERTED BY MANY COMMENTATORS CRITICAL OF MR. KISSINGER'S POLICY. FOR ONE THING, WAR HAS NOT BROKEN OUT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BETWEEN TWO NATO PARTNERS. FOR ANOTHER, THE SOVIET UNION, PROBABLY IN ORDER TO PRESERVE THE DETENTE, HAS BEEN MODERATE IN HER DIPLOMATIC INTERVENTION AND HAS NOT TRIED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE DISSENSIONS

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DISPLAYED IN THE ATLANTIC CAMP. IN SHORT, SHE HAS ADOPTED 'A RESPONSIBLE' ATTITUDE HARDLY IMAGINABLE ONLY SOME TEN YEARS AGO." IN THE SAME MESSAGE WE REPORTED QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS AS SAYING: "EUROPE CANNOT CLAIM A ROLE OF UMPIRE....THE PRESENT FRENCH POLICY SHOULD RESULT IN THE DELIVERY TO GREECE OF FORTY MIRAGE F1 JET FIGHTERS. BUT PROSPECTS HAVE BECOME MUCH BROADER FOR OUR ARMS INDUSTRIES SINCE THE WITHDRAWAL OF GREEK FORCES FROM NATO....YET GREECE AND TURKEY ARE INSEPARABLE. A SYSTEM THAT WOULD INCLUDE ONE AND NOT THE OTHER IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE. THE USSR AND THE U.S. HAVE UNDERSTOOD THIS WELL. INSTEAD OF PREVENTING THE ORDEAL IN CYPRUS THEY HAVE CAREFULLY SPARED THEIR FUTURE CAPACITIES OF ARBITRATION IN THE MATTER. PEOPLE ARE PROBABLY SHOUTING DISQUALIFICATION FOR KISSINGER A LITTLE TOO FAST."

5. OUR MAIN EFFORTS SO FAR TO COUNTER CRITICISM HAVE BEEN : (A) TO SEND DEPARTMENT'S DENIAL OF CHARGE THAT U.S. WAS INVOLVED IN MAKARIOS OVERTHROW
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(REF C) TO LE MONDE CHIEF FOREIGN EDITOR MICHEL TATU UNDER COVER OF PERSONAL NOTE FROM PAO; (B) TO HAND-CARRY TO EIGHT MAIN PARIS PAPERS AND TOP WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINES WIRELESS FILE TEXT OF SECRETARY'S AUGUST 19 PRESS CONFERENCE; AND (C) TO DO LIKEWISE WITH TEXT OF SECRETARY'S AUGUST 20 MIAMI SPEECH TO AMERICAN LEGION. WE BELIEVE THESE STEPS, PLUS TALKING WITH FRENCH MEDIA REPRESENTATIVES BOTH AT THEIR INITIATIVE AND OURS, IS THE RIGHT APPROACH AND ABOUT ALL WE CAN DO TO PUT ACROSS DEPARTMENT'S VIEW.

6. COMMENT. LE MONDE ARTICLES OFFER ANOTHER DEMONSTRATION OF SOME FRENCH JOURNALISTS' INCURABLE DEPENDENCE ON THE COLLUSION OR CONSPIRACY THEORY TO PRODUCE WHAT THEY CONSIDER INTERESTING COPY. FURTHERMORE HAVING BEEN COMPELLED TO REPORT FOR A CONSIDERABLE TIME THE SECRETARY'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS UNDER WELL KNOWN DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, CONDITIONS, SOME OF THE FRENCH REPORTERS ARE APPARENTLY SEIZING UPON CYPRUS CRISIS TO TWIT UNCLE SAM AS HAVE DONE OTHER EUROPEAN MEDIA THAT HAVE COME TO OUR ATTENTION. WE HAVE NOT SEEN ANY EVIDENCE OF OFFICIAL ENCOURAGEMENT OF THIS TYPE OF REPORTING ON CYPRUS. ON THE CONTRARY, WE HAVE FOUND THE QUAI AND OTHER GOF CONTACTS FORTHCOMING AND COOPERATIVE IN DISCUSSING CYPRUS ISSUE.
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